HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section

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Dulles and His Successor: Most exciting—and potentially most constructive—news circulating among "people in the know" in Washington is that President Eisenhower will give ailing Secretary of State Dulles permission to name his successor.

This makes sense to any who know how Ike's military mind works; his famous "chain of command" and "continuity" philosophy about his "team" is, indeed, more fact than fable. It also makes sense to Diplomatic Row, whose denizens would like to see a continuity and basic integrity in the future course of American foreign policy. If Dulles chooses to retire and names his successor, it is assumed that the man he selects will carry out the overall Dulles policy *vis-a-vis* the Soviet Union as it has been conducted for some years.

Touched off by the above news, a HUMAN EVENTS investigation to determine just who Dulles would tap for the job brings up the following answer—former Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr. The belief that Dulles prefers Hoover above other mentioned candidates is strongly held by persons in high Government service.

Key American diplomats say that Dulles liked Hoover's work in the Department, especially his faithful and sincere adherence to Dulles' ideas and methods. Additionally, Dulles distinctly did not like the way Hoover was eased out of his job at State, as a result of intrigue by a White House camarilla led by former Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams.

● *The stricken Secretary reportedly does not favor Thomas E. Dewey, whose name has been prominently advanced in the past ten days. Dulles' relations with Dewey, cordial a decade ago, have perceptibly cooled in recent years.*

Nixon and Rockefeller: The Vice President's star is on the ascendant, as the New York Governor's shines dimly. This picture engages the attention of political observers in the Capital.

Recently, the Gallup Poll reported Nixon's popularity rising. Now, the Trendex News Poll indicates that public opinion has "dramatically" switched from Nelson A. Rockefeller to Richard M. Nixon as Republican Presidential nominee. This polling organization says Vice President Nixon now is almost a two-to-one favorite over Rockefeller, and among Republicans he ranks better than five-to-one. (Last November Rockefeller was rated as a five-to-four favorite over Nixon.) The Trendex News Poll says that Rockefeller's program for a $277 million tax jump in New York was an important factor in his loss of popularity nationally.

The increase in Nixon's "ratings" coincides with a markedly conservative tendency in his activities and utterances. It is known around the Capital that the Vice President has been quietly talking with powerful right-wing backers of the GOP, and some of these have promised him full support (which they had denied to the Eisenhower Administration in its "liberal" phase). This week, Nixon very plainly laid some conservative sentiments on the line. At a party meeting in Los Angeles, he called on Republicans to wear the conservative tag proudly.

> **"You hear," he said, "a lot these days about how we should change our image. . . . I don't think we could make a greater mistake than to say that because some people don't like being called conservative, the Republican party should stop being conservative. We should be proud of what we believe." The speech, according to the AP, "was greeted with wild enthusiasm."**

Nixon's leadership of the President's new Cabinet committee on economic matters, it is expected, will boost his prestige. And now, in the wake of Dulles' hospitalization, many in the Capital talk of the possibility of the Vice President's assuming some foreign policy roles.

Meanwhile, Rockefeller's prestige wanes. The Nation's Capital is generally of the opinion that this derives from (1) his controversial budget and tax program in the Empire State; and (2) the playing down of his initially reported Presidential ambitions by the New York Governor's "political managers."

Symptomatic of the latter development, Capital observers relate a current episode. Some members of the local Gridiron Club, composed of important Washington press people, reportedly approached the Governor's entourage and asked that he come to Washington to speak to the Club's famous dinner. Presidential hopefuls traditionally seek this spot to gain wider publicity. (The Gridironers, significantly, dealt with figures identified as "Dewey intimates"; Rockefeller has often been repored as leaning heavily on "Little Tom" for support.)

The answer the newspapermen received was a definite negative: "No such speech in such a spot, especially at the present time." This story underlines the belief among the professionals that the Rockefeller managers, for tactical reasons, do not want their man to be "too far out in front."

Missing Airmen: Questions persist as to the whereabouts of eleven airmen from the US transport plane shot down in Soviet Armenia last September—especially

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after a puzzling statement by Tass, the Soviet news agency, answering American State Department charges. The statement includes the following perplexing sentence: "There are no American airmen from the above-mentioned plane in the Soviet Union."

Anti-communist experts, who have studied the matter closely and who possess a wide range of intelligence about what happens within Soviet borders, suggest that perhaps the Tass statement is, for a change, honest. That is, they believe that perhaps the Soviet Government believes there are no American airmen in Soviet territory. These experts, fitting together various bits of information and evaluation, think there is a possibility that the eleven survivors of the crash may have been lucky enough to encounter members of the anti-Soviet underground in Armenia, and are being concealed. Eventually, they might show up in the free world, if their hosts can arrange safe passage across the Iron Curtain. At any rate, these experts are convinced that there is more than meets the eye in the matter of the eleven missing airmen.

Right to Work: Virtually unnoticed by the Nation's press, Republicans in Indiana have checked—at least temporarily—an attempt by the labor-dominated Democratic party to pass a repeal of the state right-to-work law. (The Democrats control the House of the state legislature, the Republicans control the Senate.) The battle was marked by a number of stormy phases:

(1) It had been assumed at the beginning of the session that the GOP majority in the Senate would firmly block the Democratic motion to repeal. However, a few Republicans—whether through guile or fear of labor-boss power—broke ranks. The powerful *Indianapolis Star* reacted strongly with an editorial entitled "How to Ruin a Party." Pointing to the split among the Republicans, the *Star* described the situation as "one of the best examples of why the Republicans took such a gosh-awful beating in the last election."

(2) *Another Indianapolis paper, the Scripps-Howard* Times, *played up news about a pamphlet gotten out by the state Communist party, calling for repeal of the right-to-work statute and demanding a march on the State House. Republican Governor Harold Handley, who supports the right-to-work law, said: "That has been the Communist party line all along."*

(3) The small minority of Republican Senators who initially split with most of their party developed a parliamentary maneuver which stymied the Democrats in their attempt to repeal the law. They said they would pass the repeal, only if the Democrats brought out of the Democratic-dominated lower house a really tough bill, effectively reforming labor abuses. The Democrats did not like that idea at all. Thus, the Republican "compromisers" used promise of support of repeal as leverage to force a strong labor-reform measure into law. So far, the Democrats apparently prefer to let the matter rest for a while.

The *Star* remarked: "The political power play regarding labor legislation in this session has been taken from the hands of those labor chiefs who sought to steamroller their demands through the General Assembly. It is doubtful if they can regain the initiative."

Michigan Story: From around Detroit and Lansing, Michigan state capital, much sardonic comment is reported about the most recent evidence of Governor Soapy Williams' descent in the political scale.

In recent weeks, a phrase has become current to describe the bankruptcy point of the state treasury, when there would be no money left to pay state payrolls: "collapse day."

On February 2, Williams, long a New Dealer and regarded as a puppet of the socialistic Reuther, had to appeal to industry to make prepayment of taxes which otherwise would not be due until April 15. Industry responded with approximately $35 million in taxes paid in advance. This money enabled the first payments since last November to the state's three major universities, which had been borrowing against full state payment in the future.

Banks had shut off "credit based on anticipation" when Williams' appeal came to the rescue. However, industry's prepayment of tax money (which might have been kept and used for several more months) is merely a temporary prop for the state's dismal treasury situation.

The state government has been appropriating and spending more money than it has been taking in, and the deficit has been mounting. Appropriations by the legislature have been going up year to year—although not as much as the Governor requested—and revenues have been decreasing; Williams' demands for more cash have been only partially met. Williams now wants to submit a constitutional amendment in April that would raise from $250,000 to $50,000,000 the amount of money the state can borrow without a vote.

In Detroit, not a few ask why New Dealer Williams did not go to the United Auto Workers to obtain the money to stave off "collapse day," instead of appealing to the employers. The union, it is pointed out, has a very substantial sum of money in its strike fund. Also, it is remarked, since a recent decision of the Michigan Supreme Court, the union need not cut into the fund in case of a strike. A former UAW official, now a Justice on the Court, has written an opinion which may, in effect, compel industry to finance strikes out of the unemployment compensation funds by making strikers eligible for unemployment checks (see HUMAN EVENTS for February 18, 1959).

Williams' ambitions toward the next Democratic Presidential nomination received a mortal blow when he ran at the bottom of his ticket in last fall's election. Pyramiding of his fiscal troubles, according to observers in the Wolverine State, has reduced his popularity to an even lower ebb, and has prompted many remarks in that state to the effect that, if he were running today for re-election, he could not win.

Economy: The Council of State Chambers of Commerce, an alert watchdog of the public interest, last week came up with proposals for cutting the Federal Budget by over $3 billion. The Council recommended chopping close to $1 billion from the foreign-aid budget, killing $283 million of "depressed areas" and TVA spending. Also recommended was a slice of over a half-

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billion dollars from public-works expenditures; $403 million by curtailing the bureaucracy; and a $325 million saving by stopping losses through two per cent loans to the REA.

"In reality," commented the Council's research director, Eugene Rinta, "these Budget-cutting proposals represent only a relatively modest but effective start toward control of Federal spending at a manageable level—that is, a spending level which will make practicable the tax reforms that are necessary to assure sound economic growth and which will also permit reduction of the public debt in periods of economic growth."

'Backdoor' Spending: "Backdoor" spending, by which funds are funneled direct from the Treasury to Executive department bureaucrats, bypassing the congressional appropriations committees, is a major weapon in the arsenal of the big spenders. To blunt its effectiveness, conservatives in both houses are planning to give further legislative backing to the constitutional clause saying, "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law."

Representative Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.) Chairman of the powerful Rules Committee of the House, is holding hearings on his resolution, H. Res. 161, which would channel all spending through the House Appropriations Committee, thus bringing the "backdoor" spending out in the open. Judge Smith is staunchly supported by Chairman Cannon of Appropriations and Chairman Wilbur Mills of Ways and Means. House Speaker Sam Rayburn has failed to go along on grounds that this devious financing has gone on for 20 years—which, to conservatives, seems to be all the more reason to stop it now.

On the Senate side, Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, in a hassle with Democratic Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson over the President's present Budget, February 16, charged that the Democratic 85th Congress increased the President's last two Budgets by some $3 billion—through "backdoor" raids on the Treasury. And on the following day, Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) introduced a resolution aimed at channeling all expenditures through the appropriations committees, "We are facing a fiscal crisis," said Thurmond, "every bit as grave, and with just as serious consequences, as that posed by the threat of armed conflict."

The 'Guidance' Trap: Coming under heavy fire last week was the Federal Government's "guidance and testing" program for American education, set up under the so-called National Defense Education Act. (HUMAN EVENTS was first among US publications to unearth this latent threat, when it published its article, "Guided Minds: the Promise and the Threat," by Emily Cuyler Hammond, June 9, 1958.)

Last week, Frederick M. Raubinger, Commissioner of Education for New Jersey, charged that the "guidance" program is an instrument for imposing Federal control on American schools. The guidance provision of the Act, which sets up Federal standards that have to be met by all states desiring Federal help, makes hash of the argument that Federal control does not follow Federal aid. Embarking from this point, Raubinger said: "What a simple thing it will be to take the next easy steps to a complete national testing program encompassing not 500,000 but 35 million persons. All of our children can then be described and neatly sorted and their records preserved for posterity on magnetic tape, thanks to improvements in electronic computing."

Clergy: A footnote on the progress of the "liberal" World Council of Churches: when the WCC was formed in 1948, the official church in the Soviet Union, where every phase of life is controlled by state policy, refused to affiliate with it. This year, however, a representative of the Soviet church will sit in at a high-level meeting of the World Council, on the Isle of Rhodes. This concession, it is believed, may lead to formal affiliation of the Soviet group to the WCC.

Legal Subversion: The House Un-American Activities Committee last week trained its guns on a key instrument of the Communist conspiracy—the Communist lawyer.

"While relatively few in number," the Committee stated, "the principals in this operation enjoy a far disproportionate influence in the American community as a result of a combination of legal training, schooling in Communist subversive techniques and the fact that they have behind them the entire Communist apparatus and are made the subjects of favorable publicity buildups on the part of the Communist party, its fronts and fellow travellers in all walks of life. . . . The frequency of their appearances before [important governmental bodies] is evidence of the prominence attained by Communists who have been admitted to the bar.

"They appear not only before congressional committees, but, because of their highly respected profession, are given free access to Executive agencies, such as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and to the state and Federal courts, including our highest tribunal—the United States Supreme Court.

"In the past decade alone, identified Communist lawyers appeared in person before the United States Supreme Court or were on the principal brief in at least 32 important cases adjudicated by the Court on some vital issue affecting the operations of the Communist party itself."

Fifth Amendment: Capital correspondents, watching their news tickers last week, read a blistering exchange between committee chairman and reluctant witnesses which practically had the wires smoldering. The exchange, revolving around the Fifth Amendment, recalled the days when Senator Joe McCarthy, in his long struggle against communism, took witnesses to task for hiding behind the Fifth—behavior for which he was mercilessly flayed in the editorial columns of the Eastern newspapers. This week's incident, however, brought no similar unfavorable comment from the editorialists who used to make Senator McCarthy their whipping boy.

The antagonists last week were Senator John McClellan of Arkansas and two union witnesses who refused to testify about their activities. In one case, reported the

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wire services, "Chairman McClellan, white with anger, marched around the committee table and stood over the witness, Sonie Parker of New York, demanding that he testify. Parker was so shaken he could barely whisper his Fifth Amendment pleas. . . ."

In the second instance, "McClellan, rising half out of his chair, shot questions at [union official Al] Cohen so fast he barely had time to refuse to answer one before the next one came. 'Are you a thief? Are you a thug? Are you a gangster? Are you an American citizen? Are you ashamed of your country? Do you love your country? Are you a coward?'"

McClellan also said: "There is no reason why you couldn't tell the truth. Do you want to be a man . . . or join that scum of humanity?"

Three Labor Bills: Three important labor bills—in addition to those introduced by Senators Goldwater and Kennedy (see HUMAN EVENTS for February 18, 1959)—are now on their way toward debate and action in the House and Senate. S. 1002, introduced by Senator Karl Mundt, February 6, would set up strict procedures for the election of union officers, to insure against the top-down despotism now handed out by some labor bosses; it would also set up procedures for safeguarding union funds from boss-propelled depredations.

A similar bill is being pushed by Senator McClellan, chairman of the Labor Rackets Committee. McClellan described the proposed effects of his legislation as follows: "The unions will have to comply with certain standards and keep in compliance with them in order to be eligible (1) as bargaining representatives, (2) to file unfair labor practice complaints, and (3) for tax exemptions."

And Representative Graham Barden (D.-N.C.), chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, has worked up a bill to halt abuses by union officials. His description of it: "There will be a detailed enumeration of the basic rights of union members and a meaningful procedure whereby those rights can legally be protected. There will also be a fiduciary responsibility established for all those who are entrusted with union funds and property. Also there will be a [section] which I believe will adequately deal with the problem involving trusteeships."

Cultural Exchange: Left-wing union boss Harry Bridges, often referred to as "the uncrowned king of Hawaii," recently concluded a visit to the Soviet Union (just as the issue of Hawaii's eligibility for statehood arises for renewed consideration by Congress). Bridges was quoted as saying that the group with which he toured was "deeply impressed by the responsibility, role and rights of the Soviet trade unions in their support of the workers' interests" and as opining that Soviet labor unions were "much more democratic than many American trade unions."

Other Bridges comments, as carried in the Communist paper, *Trud*: " . . . trade with the socialist [*i.e.*, Communist] countries would lessen to some definite extent the unemployment in the United States and would create better understanding. Our President would be greatly impressed with everything that is happening here as well as with the Soviet people's determination to develop their country and raise their living standard.

"How good it would be if leaders of the American trade unions, including AFL-CIO leaders, would visit your country. They would learn that everything that is heard by American workers about the USSR is lying, slanderous propaganda."

"It is very useful," Bridges concluded, "to visit the USSR." Capital analysts agree that such trips are "useful"—to the Communist party line—and they aver that Bridges' utterances make it abundantly clear that the US has everything to lose, nothing to gain from such "exchanges."

Between Covers: Attracting considerable attention in the Capital is an article in the February 14, 1959 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, by pollster-pundit Samuel Lubell, exploring the causes of last fall's disastrous collapse by the Republican party. The "main reason for the completeness of the 1959 Republican debacle," says Lubell, was this: "The 1958 election was the first since the advent of Roosevelt in which the electorate saw no meaningful difference between the two parties on the crucial problem of inflation."

"In the final analysis," Lubell states, "pocketbook considerations will probably determine the next tenant of the White House. . . . In fact, as we have seen, the voters may even have become overly sensitive to these issues. Many groups feel that they cannot protect their economic interests if their allegiance to one party is taken for granted. . . .

"If 1958 holds out one dominant lesson to the Republican party, it is that the GOP must stand for something definite politically. Trying to be all things to all men, the last election showed, invites being blamed by all men for all things."

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FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor and Publisher*
M. STANTON EVANS, *Managing Editor*
JAMES L. WICK, *Executive Publisher*
FRANK CHODOROV, *Contributing Editor*

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Article Section 1

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Remolding the GOP 'Image'

How Ike Could Dispel the Public's Confusion

By FREDERIC NELSON

REPUBLICANS, WHO ONLY a few months ago were insisting that the party needed a new and more modern "image," are now trying to get back the image they started out with when the late Bob Taft was known as "Mr. Republican." To give the old image a fancier gloss they installed Charley Halleck as their leader in the House of Representatives, but in the Senate they stuck with Everett Dirksen, thus averting the possibility that the GOP there would take on the expression of sanctimonious piety recommended by Senator Case of New Jersey and his ilk.

This is all very well, but I have a suggestion for Republican image-lifting which has the merit of simplicity and "thrust," as the orbit-conscious Madison Avenue boys now call it. The idea would be to let President Eisenhower call a press conference and answer the questions in a way that would make the majority of Americans "like Ike" as they have never liked him before. Maybe some of the replies which are suggested in the subjoined simulated press conference represent what the President would say if given his head. Anyway, they are calculated to wow the Nation.

Because even some HUMAN EVENTS readers may be literal-minded, it is necessary to state at this point that there has never been a press conference like this one and almost certainly never will be. I made it up out of the whole cloth. Just the same, I think what follows, or something like it, would work wonders for the popularity of President Eisenhower and the whole Republican party. So here follows my purely imaginary idea of what such a Presidential press conference might be like.

* * *

The President: Good morning. You may fire when ready, gentlemen.

Q. *Mr. President, it has been suggested in the press that a coolness has developed between you and Chief Justice Warren, and that this has some relation to the decisions which the Supreme Court has been making. Have you any comment on that?*

A. I have indeed. If the author of that news story had taken the trouble to come to me, he would have been told straight out that, had I known what knuckle-headed opinions the Chief Justice was capable of handing down, I would never have put him on the bench, even if that cost me the nomination. With me Mr. Warren remains a man with a Big Hello and a small acquaintance with the law. In fact, I often refer to him in private as Judge Necessity because he appears to know no law. Well, perhaps that will be termed a violation of somebody's civil rights, but that is how I feel.

Q. *Sir, when Sherman Adams first became entangled in a set of furs, you declared that you needed him. In the light of recent developments, was that a correct statement of your views?*

A. Well, if I were asked that question today, I might reply that I needed Sherman, but I would probably add an expression from my cadet days—"like a hole in the head." Since Sherman has left town, I have met many Republicans, an experience I seldom enjoyed when Sherman was in charge of my appointments. On the whole it has been an interesting and profitable thing. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, for instance, usually had to sneak in here when Sherman was out to lunch, and it was difficult conferring with him when he was always looking over his shoulder to be sure Sherman wasn't listening at the keyhole, or about to burst in with some of those "modern" creeps he was always pushing into the place.

Q. *What is your feeling, sir, regarding the rudeness of the pickets who demonstrated against Mr. Mikoyan when the Soviet Union's Deputy Premier was the guest of the Nation?*

A. On that point, I can only say this. When that Red spy was sitting in my office, I confess I couldn't help wishing that one of those Hungarian pickets had the arm to pitch a perfect strike with a ripe tomato right into his kisser. What was he doing over here anyway? I note that a retired general has pointed out in a letter to the New York *News* that Mr. Mikoyan couldn't find a supermarket in Washington worth his time, but had to inspect one in Maryland "next to a highly classified defense laboratory." If he had a geiger counter in his pocket, I shouldn't be surprised. If he got a Hungarian Bronx cheer or two, I can't believe any serious harm was done.

Q. *Mr. President, have you any plans for intervening perhaps more emphatically than you have done up to now to see to it that children in the Southern states are permitted to attend integrated schools?*

A. No, I think I'll let what one of you fellows has described as the Supreme School Board wrestle with that one. After all, I haven't been to school for a good many years and I just don't feel up to telling local communities how they should run their schools. Of course, Southern education may be missing something by resisting integration. I am told that right here in Washington, since the schools have been integrated, there has been an increase in the number of girls who, if I may again revert to an expression of my cadet days, get themselves in a family way. Now as you all know, one of the serious problems confronting a parent of children is how to tell them

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what are commonly called the Facts of Life. Anyway, here in Washington a high school student has a fair chance of seeing the facts of life exemplified right at the next desk. I don't think that ought to be brushed aside as unimportant. If the Russians are really ahead of us in their educational program, this may be one field in which we can catch up.

Q. *It appears to some of us, Mr. President, that the appropriations for foreign aid tend to get bigger as the economic distress in other countries diminishes. Is there an explanation of that?*

A. Yes. It looks to me as if that is almost an economic law. In your own communities you are familiar with the fact that, as poverty becomes less and less acute, welfare agencies ask for more and more money. We are told that, instead of delivering a bottle of milk and a bucket of coal to poor families, these agencies are now building the character of young people, persuading parents not to give their children switchblade knives at Christmas, and so on. I suppose something like that is true in the field of foreign aid. We started out feeding people and helping them recover from the ravages of war. We now need more money to give these people things the Russians might give them if the Russians had anything to give. I think my brother Milton is the one to answer your question, as he associates more than I do with professors and is therefore able to make sense of a lot of things that look like the bunk to me.

Q. *Mr. President, it has been said that Vice President Nixon's problem is to stay close enough to you to get the nomination but not so close as to lose the election. Does that coincide with your thinking?*

A. My feeling is that, if Dick Nixon goes along as he is going now, if he doesn't let the NAACP write his speeches and doesn't get mixed up with the people in the Republican party who loused up the first six or seven years of my Administration—Jim Hagerty here says I'm off the beam—he can stay close to me or as far away as he likes, and he will win both the nomination and the election.

Q. *Sir, are you planning to invite Fidel Castro to Washington to discuss problems concerning Cuba and this country?*

A. No. It begins to look as if Castro might turn out to be a bearded Nasser, and I am sure none of you would suspect me of wanting any characters like that taking pot luck with Mrs. Eisenhower and me.

Q. *Mr. President, if the Chinese Communists again attack Quemoy, will our attitude be the same as it was last year?*

A. I should think so. After all, John Foster Dulles single-handedly repelled Mao Tse-tung, Walter Lippmann, the Washington *Post* and the Red Chinese Air Force. It seems logical to me to give the Dulles position another chance on its record, especially when you recall all the Stevensonian predictions of disaster which Mr. Dulles had to ignore. Yes, I think the answer is that we would tell them to go to hell all over again.

Q. *What effect do you think, sir, will Nelson Rockefeller's call for higher taxes in New York have upon his chance to obtain the Presidential nomination in 1960?*

A. Unless the people have rocks in their heads, his goose is cooked.

Q. *Do you favor the repeal of the Twenty-Second Amendment to the Constitution which prevents a President from serving more than two terms?*

A. The answer to that is definitely No. Without that amendment the Citizens for Eisenhower might try to persuade me to run for a third term and, being as revolted by retirement as the average American is, I might be foolish enough to go along. After all, when you remember that they managed to get Roosevelt to try a fourth term when he was three-quarters dead, this is no imaginary hazard. I suspect Roosevelt would have given a lot for that amendment.

Q. *Some correspondents have indicated that, because of our supposed inferiority in weapons, we are now a second-class power and the Soviet Union is the only first-class power left. Do you subscribe to that?*

A. Well, not exactly. I think we enjoy an unenviable priority in the number of newspaper writers who believe everything that the Russians say about the weapons they are supposed to have, while rejecting as lies and double-talk statements by our own Secretary of Defense and other officials. Just a few weeks ago the Soviets announced that they had sent up a satellite that took off and was in orbit around the sun. Now I don't want to be in the position of belittling Soviet science, but it did seem curious to some of our people that the reason the Russians thought the satellite was in orbit around the sun was that it had stopped sending signals and, according to them, that meant that the satellite was some millions of miles out of hearing. Well, you could just as well argue that ancient Egypt had wireless telegraphy because no wires were found in King Tut's Sarcophagus. But most of your newspapers played the Soviet story on the front page, until it turned out that the satellite had probably blown up considerably this side of paradise, as it were. That part of the story didn't make many front pages, although of course I don't see all the newspapers. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Frederic Nelson is a Senior Editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, in charge of the editorial page. He won the Freedoms Foundation Award, for an editorial, in 1951. His most recent contribution to HUMAN EVENTS was "Left-Wing Follies: 1958 Version," November 10, 1958.

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Article Section II

Arab Refugees — A Moral Problem

A Solution for a Middle Eastern Tragedy

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By WILLIAM ZUKERMAN
Editor, *Jewish Newsletter*

THE ARAB REFUGEE problem has now erupted with greater force than in any year since its creation. The immediate reason is the annual debate in the United Nations on UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Administration). Another reason is that the United States and Great Britain, the two great powers who have paid 90 per cent of UNRWA's budget during the last ten years, gave notice that they would not continue this program next year, when the present agreement will expire, and insisted that a new and more permanent settlement of the issue should be devised. A third, less known but no less important, reason is that public opinion in America has changed sharply on the subject of the Arab refugees.

Hitherto in America the problem was looked upon as a sectional political issue of concern only to Israel and the Arab states. Recently Christian opinion, led by the Protestant churches, has awakened to the fact that the Arab refugee problem is a problem which concerns the entire civilized world. The newly formed American Committee to Benefit the Arab Refugees is a landmark in the history of the Arab refugee problem and a reflection of this awakening.

It is therefore appropriate at this point for the *Jewish Newsletter* — the only publication in the United States which as far back as September 26, 1949, called attention to the plight of the Arab refugees and to the Jewish responsibility for this tragedy—to summarize the issue on the basis of material which appeared in the publication during the last decade. It is our hope that this will contribute somewhat to the clarification of one of the darkest and most complicated problems of our age.

Until recently, the official Israeli Zionist position on the Arab refugees has been that:

(1) *The three-quarters-of-a-million Arab inhabitants of Palestine who fled from their homes in a moment of war panic caused by war propaganda did so "voluntarily," and for this they should be banished to exile and not be permitted to return to their homes.*

(2) Israel has a national mission to redeem thousands of Jews from their present homes in the Diaspora and settle them in Israel. These immigrants need new homes and the State of Israel is therefore fully justified in expropriating the land of those native Arabs who fled from the country in order to settle these new immigrants.

(3) *Most Arab refugees are mortal enemies of Israel and to readmit them would mean to establish an Arab fifth column, which would endanger the existence of Israel.*

(4) The other Arab states have much land and rich resources and should therefore settle the Palestinian Arabs in their own countries, where they would be happier among their kinsmen than they would be in Israel.

(5) *Therefore, the policy of the Israeli Government has been not to readmit any Arab refugees, not even a limited number, to their homes in Israel; not to make any territorial concessions; to pay compensation for the confiscated Arab lands, homes and property only if the Arabs would make peace on the basis of the* status quo.

The amazing thing is that this act of public injustice, which established a precedent that a civil population which flees from its homes and countries in war time should not be permitted to return—a precedent which endangers the future position of every weak minority in the world, most of all the Jews—was overwhelmingly endorsed by the Israelis, themselves mostly erstwhile refugees. Furthermore, it was ecstatically received and glorified as an act of social justice and heroism by American Jews who, during the last ten years, raised $1 billion charity to implement this policy by financing a mass immigration of Jews from all over the world who would take the place of the displaced Arabs.

TO THIS OBSERVER, nothing demonstrates more sharply the terribly uncanny power of modern propaganda to control minds, sway emotions and brutalize people than the Zionist propaganda on the Arab refugees during the last decade. It literally succeeded in turning black into white; a big, blatant lie into a truth; a grave social injustice into an act of justice glorified by thousands. It has turned clever people with more than average intelligence into starry-eyed fools, believing everything they are told; and has converted kindly and gentle men and women with a strong sense of mercy into callous fanatics, insensible to the suffering of any people except their own. In no other way can this writer explain the many paradoxes which the Arab refugee problem has created in Jewish life.

For instance, why should Israelis and Zionists expect the Arab refugees to forget, after a few short years, their homeland in which they and their forefathers had lived for centuries, while Israelis claim that they are unable to forget Zion after nearly two thousand years? Are the Arabs an inferior people,

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made of different flesh and blood, mind and heart from the Israelis? Did not the Zionists reject Uganda and other better and more fertile lands offered to them before the Balfour Declaration and insist on a return to their two-thousand-year-old homeland? Why should the Arabs not want the same thing?

Why should an Arab refugee who lived all his life in Palestine, when he crosses the Israeli frontier illegally, be considered an "infiltree" and treated as a criminal and murderer, while a Jewish immigrant, who lived thousands of miles away and had never seen Palestine, who when he entered it, also illegally (against the laws of the Mandatory Power), be considered a national hero?

In the interest of truth, it should be stated that the attitude of the Israeli Government toward the Arab refugees has undergone a considerable change for the better during the last year. Yet the problem is as far from being solved as it ever has been. And this because the Israelis still fail to realize a fundamental truth concerning the problem without which no settlement will be reached. This truth cannot be found in the pronouncements of the Government nor in the official propaganda. It has to be looked for in the writings of a pitifully small, but surprisingly vocal and effective, opposition to the Government Arab policy which has existed in and outside Israel throughout the last decade.

In 1948, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes stated: "I find it difficult to reconcile the present attitude of the Israeli Government in relation to the Arab refugees with its repeated statements that it is not the Arabs in Palestine, but only the neighboring Arab countries who are to blame for the outbreak of the Jewish-Arab war. If the Palestine Arabs left their homesteads 'voluntarily' under the impact of Arab propaganda and in a veritable panic, one may not forget that the most potent argument in this propaganda was the fear of a repetition of the Irgun-Stern atrocities at Deir Yassin, where the Jewish authorities were unable or unwilling to prevent the act or punish the guilty."

In July 1955, Rabbi R. Benjamin, the late editor of *Ner* in Jerusalem, stated: "In the end we must come out with the truth: that we have no moral right whatever to oppose the return of the Arab refugees to their land . . . that until we have begun to redeem our sin against the Arab refugees, we have no right to continue the Ingathering of the Exiles. We have no right to demand that American Jews leave their country to which they have become attached, and settle in a land that has been stolen from others, while the owners of it are homeless and miserable."

IN THIS COUNTRY too, apart from the organized opposition of the American Council for Judaism, the Jewish Labor Bund and Freeland, a few individuals had the courage to voice their opposition to the official Israeli Arab policy in the midst of the McCarthy-like hysteria. Among them were the late Dr. I. N. Steinberg, Georg Landauer, Dr. Hoffman-Zivion, to which are to be added the names of Erich Fromm, Hans Kohn, Norman Thomas and others. The *Jewish Newsletter* is proud of the fact that it was the only Jewish publication which provided the platform from which these "voices in the wilderness" could be heard. As far back as September 1950, we said editorially:

"The fact that they [the Arab Refugees] fled in panic because of a real, or imaginary, danger, is no excuse for depriving them of their homes, fields and livelihoods. No people is exempt from panic in war time; least of all the Jews. In their long wanderings Jews have often fled from real and imaginary threats of pogroms and wars. To deprive them [the Arabs] of their homes and property because they, like most humans, sought safety for themselves and their children, is a grave act of injustice . . . It is like a reversal of all the moral principles upon which the Jews have based their civilization and their way of life from the days of the Prophets to the present. How can a people which has for centuries led a life as refugees and experienced all the bitter pain of exile, begin its political renascence with an act of injustice against other refugees?"

These pronouncements and many others like them, which appeared in the columns of the *Jewish Newsletter* throughout the last decade, show clearly that there has always been among Jews an opposition to the official attitude toward the Arab refugees, a more humane and at the same time profounder and truer one than that of the Israelis.

The primary distinction between these two points of view is that the opposition looked upon the Arab refugee issue as a basic humanitarian and moral problem, which rises above sectional and national interests and affects not only the Arabs and Jews, but the entire civilized world. The Israelis, on the other hand, looked upon the Arab refugees as a political incident in the building of their national state for the sake of which all sacrifices of human beings and moral principles were permissible.

Time has shown that the Israelis were wrong and their small opposition was right. Public opinion in the United States and in the rest of the civilized world is veering to the opposition point of view. The Israeli Government is wisely retreating from its previous uncompromising stand, but its present concessions will not avail until it adopts the fundamentals of the opposition's program, namely the recognition of the principles of repatriation of all Arab refugees who wish to return to their homes in Israel.

But to do that would mean for Israel to give up not only her previous policy on the Arab refugees, but also her entire supra-nationalistic basis of the state—the claim that it has been created in order to redeem *the entire Jewish people*. Are the Israelis ready now for such a revolutionary change?

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